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COUNTERCULTURE AND DOMINANT CULTURE VALUES: A CROSS-NATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE UNDERGROUND PRESS AND DOMINANT CULTURE MAGAZINES *

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A content analysis of values in dominant culture magazines in the United States, Canada and Great Britain during 1957–59, 1967–69 and 1970–72 indicated a priority on instrumentalism and little shifting in overall value preference over time. This appears to be contrary to predictions made by counterculture observers that Western society was changing rapidly toward a countercultural ideology. A similar analysis of the underground press in the same countries during 1967–69 and 1970–72 revealed a marked shift from expressive priorities during the earlier period to political priorities during the later period. These findings and their implications are discussed.

In 1969 Theodore Roszak claimed that a major counterculture, comprising mainly young people between fifteen and thirty years of age, had arisen in Western society. This counterculture reportedly was based on a total repudiation of the technological/scientific world-view long dominant in the West and an adherence to a mystical/humanistic alternative. Two years later, Richard Flacks (1971:129) specified that the emerging counterculture life style would stress "cooperation over competition, expression over success, communalism over individualism, being over doing, making art over making money, and autonomy over obedience." Roszak (1969:40) suggested that the movement was "not likely to pass over in a few years' time," but would continue making new converts for at least the next decade and a half, eventually culminating in a culture-transfoming population of millions by the early 1980s. Flacks (1971: 107–29) suggested that, during the 1970s, the Western world would begin to witness this alteration in the merging of the counterculture with non-student youth, "educated

labor," and the women's movement. And, most immediate of all was Charles Reich's (1970:4) conclusion that the transformation process already was well underway, "spreading with amazing rapidity" and producing major alterations in Western "laws, institutions and social structure" (cf. Yablonsky, 1968; Distler, 1970; Slater, 1971; Adler, 1972).

Today, however, the hippies—one of the two major subgroups of the counterculture —seem to have all but vanished. Their once flourishing subcommunities (such as San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury and New York's East Village) have returned to their pre-late 1960s demographic sturcture and virtually all hippies who remain in them are living a life style more akin to down-and-out skid row types than the ideal described above (Baumohl and Miller, 1974). Similarly, in recent years most hippie rural communes which still exist appear to have modified their original hip ideology in the direction of more traditional Western values and continue to comprise only an infinitesimal segment of the population (Melville, 1972; Kanter, 1972; Carden, 1975; French and French, 1975).

The same disappearance from prominence seems to apply to the radical political contingent—the other major sub-group—of the counterculture, The massive rallies and marches that characterized the late 1960s and early 1970s are nowhere in evidence; many leaders of the various radical factions

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are involved in patently dominant cultural life styles (cf. Kopkind, 1973; Kunen, 1973) and student support of radical activities appears to have all but ceased.

Indeed, recent data suggests that the presumed youthful allegiance to anti-dominant cultural ideals has yet to be empirically substantiated. Hoge (1971) and Morris and Small (1971) report that student values and views of "the good life" essentially are unchanged in the last three decades and Eve (1975) and Kandel and Lesser (1972) indicate a basic similarity between adolescent and adult outlooks both in the United States and Denmark.

However, while such observations may cast doubt on the claims of societal transformation mentioned above, the fact is that there has been no extensive comparative analysis of the counterculture and Western society based on a systematically collected body of data. Consequently, the present study was designed; first, to gather long term data on the counterculture and the dominant culture cross-nationally and second, to use this data to determine whether changes of any magnitude had occurred in either cultural variant in recent years. These objectives were met by conducting a content analysis of the underground press from 1967–72 in the three countries most integrally involved in countercultural activities—the United States, Canada and Great Britain—and a comparable analysis of the dominant culture press from 1957–59 and 1967–72 in the same countries.

THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The conceptual focus of the study was on the basic cognitive themes, or values, of each group. According to Yinger (1960), a counterculture forms when a group of people begins to reject the major values of its society and attempts to replace these with an alternative set of values, many of which are direct opposites of those being rejected. Since this rejection process is the one invariably described in the counterculture literature, we turn first to a consideration of the core values of Western society.

The Values of Western Society: Instrumental Priorities

When sociologists characterize the dominant thrust of Western values, they generally point to a single theme and its variations—the "work hard, be a success, be progressive" ethic. Hence, Talcott Parsons characterizes the main thrust of Western society as one of "instrumental activism," with individuals and groups within the society as a whole expected to work ascetically and unceasingly toward "the good life" and "the good society" (Parsons and White, 1964; Parsons, 1966; 1971).

This overarching instrumental value orientation has three main sub-emphases. First, there is an obligation to continuing personal and group *achievement,* of doing more and better than has been done before and attaining public recognition for such efforts (Parsons and White, 1964: 196–8). Second, there is a requirement that *cognitive* processes in general and *rationality* in particular be the chief means of attaining individual and group ends (Williams, 1970:487–9, 464–8). And last, there is an expectation that the *economic/occupational* level of social organization should be the principal locus of personal or group efforts (Parsons, 1955:11–3; Parsons and White, 1964; Williams, 1970:454–5).

In arguing that the above instrumental orientation is preeminent in Western ideology, most theorists are not claiming that other important value emphases—such as democracy, equality or individuality (cf. Williams, 1970)—are not extant within the culture, but, rather, are suggesting that most Westerners tend to place their *priorities* along instrumental lines (Parsons, 1971: chs. 7, 8). It is just this priority on instrumentalism, however, that many young members of Western society found so objectionable in the late 1960s.

The Values of the Counterculture: Political Rejection and the Expressive Alternative

The radicals and political rejection. The early 1960s produced signs that a serious rejection of Western values was underway with the emergence of a college-age population in the United States highly critical of the manner in which governmental actions

had been utilized to enhance the orientation of "success at any cost" at the expense of such ideals as full equality of opportunity, justice for all and the like (cf. Zinn, 1965; Ferber and Lynd, 1971). Originally linked with the black civil rights movement, the radical group had not only grown significantly in size by the mid-1960s, but had shifted the brunt of its dominant culture critique to two issues more intimately related to most middle-class students: regulation by the educational institution and the Vietnam war (Wolin and Schaar, 1970; Keniston, 1968). By the late 1960s, the university system was under student attack in much of North America and Europe, and protesting the Vietnam war (the quintessential symbol of alleged Western decadence and imperialism) was *de rigueur* for radical youth throughout the West (Blackburn and Cockburn, 1969; Grant, 1969; Spender, 1969; Habermas, 1970).

Just what the radicals would erect in the place of the rejected social order was not altogether clear, however. Few seemed thoroughly committed to any known political alternative, such as communism, and most seemed to assume that if only the dominant culture could be removed, more "human" social relationships inevitably would arise. Indeed this lack of a specific, agreed-upon alternative, to say nothing of internal disagreements on how to conduct the movement itself, was often a source of serious turmoil and factionalism (cf. Mungo, 1970; Stern, 1975).

The hippies and an expressive alternative. In contrast, the hippies spent much of their time specifically delineating such an alternative system. The group began to emerge in the mid-1960s, primarily in the United States, and drew its initial population from young people who had "dropped out" of the normal educational process and who were existing on the road or in cities—usually near universities (Keniston, 1965; cf. Magid, 1965; T. Wolfe, 1968). These original groups were relatively unknown until early 1967, when a *Ramparts* article (Hinckle, 1967) first exposed the San Francisco hippies to a nationwide audience. Immediately thereafter—presumably because of the flamboyance, youth and marketability of the group—there developed a mass media popularization of phenomenal proportions (cf. *Time,* July 7, 1967; *Look,* August 22, 1967; *Newsweek,* October 30, 1967).

As the hippies became increasingly visible to Western society as a whole, their colorful and innovative style spread quickly among Western youth—including the radicals—resulting in a sudden transformation in hair style, dress, musical preference, drug use patterns, argot and general rhetoric *vis-à-vis* adult society. Soon, hippie communities in major Western cities were bursting with incoming young people, college and university campuses developed resident hippie groups and major hippie events, like the Be-Ins and music festivals, were attracting literally hundreds of thousands of participants (cf. Davis, 1967; Berger, 1967; Simon and Trout, 1967).

While the hippies rejected the dominant instrumental pattern of the adult society just as vehemently as the radicals, they purposefully shunned the political orientation of that group and began a more or less conscious articulation of a counter belief system based on what Davis (1967:14) has called "expressiveness for its own sake." In theoretical terms, "rather than subordinating gratification to a goal outside the immediate situation or to a restrictive norm" (Parsons, 1951:49)—the instrumental expectation—the hippies stressed the foci of immediate cathexis, life in the present moment and virtually unlimited personal enjoyment—all *expressive* orientations (cf. Parsons, 1951:ch. 9; Zelditch, 1955).

Like its instrumental counterpart, the hippies' expressive orientation had a number of specific sub-emphases. Thus, instead of achievement, hippies stressed the need for continuing, immediate *self-expression.* It was each individual's obligation to do his or her "own thing" without regard to custom: if you could "dig it," you did it; when you stopped "digging it," you stopped doing it (cf. B. Wolfe, 1968; Wolf, 1968; Hoffman, 1968).

Instead of a cognitive-rational approach

to life where one was always weighing means to ends and trying to "get ahead of the other guy," the hippies emphasized a *concern for the welfare of others* and *affiliation* as the sole determinants of interpersonal relations. From the former emphasis, the whole love ethic evolved—hippies believed in loving all other human beings unconditionally and in showing complete tolerance for their life choices no matter how bizarre they might appear (cf. Pitts, 1970; Yablonsky, 1968: ch. 1). From the affilative emphasis, the hippies developed both the peace ethic, with its emphasis on being nonviolent and conciliatory, and the "out front" ideology, with its expectation of being completely honest regarding thoughts, feelings and actions at all times (cf. Yablonsky, 1968: chs. 1–3; Cavan, 1972: ch. 4).

Last, instead of legitimating their activities through an economic/occupational context, the hippies attempted to ground the ultimate rationale for their actions within a *religious/philosphical* framework basically derived from a synthesis of Eastern and American Indian religious and mystical tradition (cf. Greeley, 1969; 1970; Clark, 1969; Heenan, 1973; Shepherd, 1973). This concern was manifested in many different guises—for example, in yoga and various forms of meditation, in the "drugs-as-religion" groups (such as Timothy Leary's League for Spiritual Discovery), in the astrology, Tarot card, and I Ching cults, and in many hippie groups' continual conceptualization of themselves as "tribes."

METHODOLOGY

Categories of the Value Analysis: Operational Definitions

The three major value orientations of Western society and the counterculture just described were operationally defined from the sociological literature for the content analysis as follows:

Instrumental Orientation. A piece of written material is instrumental in orientation if the primary focus is on the attainment of some goal thought to exist in the future. The important thing is that the action is seen as contributing to some later goal, not yet existing or existing only in part. The action is therefore primarily a means-to-an-end, rather than one valued for its own qualities (as would be the case in an expressive orientation). Instrumentally oriented material often has to do with the cognitive understanding of a situation, the ability to use objects skillfully (things or people) in the attainment of the desired end, or the renunciation of present gratification for the future goal.

Expressive Orientation. A piece of written material is expressive in orientation if the primary focus is not on attainment of a goal anticipated for the future (as would be the case in an instrumental orientation), but on the immediate (or present) gratification of needs, desires, etc. The crucial point is that the action described is seen as an end-in-itself and, as such, is a primary manifestation of the qualitative aspects of self, others, ideals, etc. Expressively oriented material often has to do with emotions, positive perceptions and relationships with others, or ideals relating to these areas.

Political Orientation. A piece of written material is political in orientation if the primary focus is on the implementation or derivation of laws, or the various relationships of influence, authority or power. Politically oriented material often deals with the relationship between a governing body or its representatives and each other or the community these people are serving. The orientation may be manifested on many levels: individual, group, political party, or national/international.

All data collected for the content analysis were coded using the above definitions and, in the case of the expressive and instrumental orientations, the following sub-category definitions:

Instrumental Orientation

Achievement. These values pertain to the

ability of an individual person to carry a project to its conclusion. The goal of the project is usually in the future. They often have to do with accomplishments, either in individual or social fields, which are indicative of one's progress toward the desired goal.

Cognitive-Rational. These values pertain to the process of knowing, to the process of reasoning or understanding concerning finite, everyday matters. They often have to do with an emphasis on mental processes, like careful thinking or getting a formal education, as primary ways of coping with life situations.

Economic/Occupational. These values pertain to the monetary affairs of a group (as opposed to an individual), such as government or community, or to the job activities of people in their chosen career. Regarding monetary aspects, they often relate to such things as expenditures, income taxes, and the like; regarding the job, to areas such as day-to-day duties, position in a business hierarchy, etc.

Expressive Orientation

Self-Expressive. These values pertain to the ability or desire of an individual to represent a state of being or quality of him- or herself in activity, such as an emotional state (e.g., anger, joy) or a behavioral state (such as "having fun," "being creative," "making love," etc.). Usually these values focus on the present moment.

Concern for Others. These values pertain to the importance or significance which an individual or group places on the welfare of other individuals or groups in and of themselves. It usually indicates some underlying respect for human beings or life in its various modes of expression.

Affiliative. These values are a product of social life, a product of socialization by a family or group. They pertain to the needs of people to relate to other people on a personal level, whether on the group or individual level. Another emphasis is the desire to live harmoniously and peacefully with others.

Religious-Philosophical. These values pertain to learning about or contact with the level of "ultimate reality" in life, whether on the human (philosophical) or suprahuman (religious) level.

In addition, to distinguish between material which focused on political ideals as opposed to political processes, the following sub-categories were defined:

Political Orientation

Political Ideals. These values pertain to the ideological aspects of politics or to statements which emphasize the political beliefs of the individual, group or society. They often focus on such issues as democracy, freedom, equality, justice, etc.

Political Process. These values pertain to the actual "nuts-and-bolts" elements of day-to-day political life. They usually concern such activities as speechmaking, demonstrations, voting, seizing or holding power, lobbying, etc.

Last, to account for values and written material which might fall in areas other than those above, the literature on value analysis was consulted (see footnote 5) and the following orientations derived: "Other," which included the sub-categories of "physiological," "individual," and "miscellaneous"; and "Unidentified." The sub-categories, defined according to dictionary usage, are listed below:

Other Orientation

Physiological. These values pertain to the characteristics of an organism's healthy or unhealthy functioning. They most often deal with simple (or basic) physical drives or needs.

Individual. These values pertain to the unique qualities or attributes of a person, to his/her state of being, to the conditions of his/her life.

Miscellaneous. These are any other values which cannot be easily classified in one of the categories above.. Also, if it is found that two values are equally dominant in a piece of written material, they can be categorized here.

Unidentified Orientation

Unidentified. These are written materials which have no overt value expressed. They are, in effect, valueless. They tend, as a rule, to have no clear object or meaning when interpreted using a random sampling procedure.

The Sample

The underground press. For the purpose of analyzing counterculture values, underground press materials in three countries—the United States, Canada and Great Britain—were sampled over a six-year period—1967–72. For comparison, this time period was divided into two subperiods of three years each, 1967–69, 1970–72.

Three criteria determined the selection of titles. First, titles had to be considered by observers of the underground press (Hopkins, 1968; Kornbluth, 1968; Glessing, 1970; Neville, 1970; Leamer, 1972) as prominent members of this group in their respective countries. Second, titles had to indicate in some observable manner within the publication (usually the masthead) that they considered themselves members of either or both of the central international underground press organizations: the Underground Press syndicate (UPS) or Liberation News Service (LNS). Third, in its main area of distribution, each title had to have the largest circulation of any underground paper.

During the 1967–69 period, the following seven publications were sampled in the United States: *San Francisco Oracle, Los Angeles Free Press, Fifth Estate* (Detroit), *Distant Drummer* (Philadelphia), *East Village Other* (New York), *Avatar* (Boston) and *Great Speckled Bird* (Atlanta). During 1970–72 the same titles were sampled again with the exception of *San Francisco Oracle* and *Avatar*, both of which had ceased publication. These titles were replaced by the *Berkeley Barb, The Rag* (Austin) and *The Seed* (Chicago). In Canada during 1967–69, because of the underground press' late start in that country, only one title met the above criteria: Vancouver's *Georgia Straight.* During 1970–72, however, two other papers were sampled in addition to this paper: Montreal's *Logos* and Halifax' *New Morning.* Finally, for Great Britain, the same two titles were sampled in both time periods: *Oz* and *IT* (*International Times*), both located in London. Circulation figures, depending on the locale and the size of the counterculture support population varied. Overall, there was a range from 160,000 per issue (*San Francisco Oracle*: 1967–69) to 10,000 per issue (*New Morning*: 1970–72).[1]

Dominant culture magazines. For comparison, the dominant culture publications which most closely approximated the underground press in format (frequency of appearance, content of articles) and style of presentation—mass-çirculated magazines—were chosen. The sample covered the same countries and time periods. In addition, to gather further perspective on dominant culture values over a longer period of time, an additional sample was drawn from 1957–59.

Two criteria determined the selection of titles: (1) each magazine had to be recognized as directed to a general audience (or specific social class, in the case of the British sample; see below); (2) each magazine had to be among the most highly circulated for that general audience (or social class in the British case).

To select specific titles for the United States and Canada, the *Ayer Directory of Newspapers and Magazines* was utilized. The first criterion was met for the U.S. sample by selecting the periodicals from *Ayer's* category of "General Readership" (as opposed to "Men's," "Women's," etc.); the second, by selecting the first three titles appearing by rank of circulation figures which were obviously not specialty magazines (e.g., *Farm Journal, Holiday,* etc.). These criteria were found to be met by the

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[1] For more specific information on the circulation of these papers, see Glessing, 1970; Spates, 1971; Leamer, 1972.

same titles in all time periods: *Reader's Digest* (circulation, 1972: 18,159,789), *Life* (circulation, 1970: 8,535,874) and *Look* (circulation, 1970: 7,800,531). In the Canadian sample, a similar procedure was employed, except that, since *Ayer* does not list major categories for Canadian publications, the titles were selected from the most highly circulated non-specialty magazines as listed by province. Two publications were sampled throughout the three time periods: *Reader's Digest: Canadian Edition* (circulation, 1970: 1,448,312) and *MacLean's* (circulation, 1970: 907,145). The third publication sampled for 1967–69, 1970–72, *The Canadian Magazine* (circulation, 1972: 1,960,940), did not exist during 1957–59. However, since it is a weekend newspaper magazine (*à la Parade* or *This Week* in the United States) and was preceded in the same newspaper syndicate by the similar *Weekend Magazine* (circulation, 1959: 2,028,730), the latter title was selected for 1957–59.

The British sample presented some special considerations. While it is generally accepted that the United States and Canada are predominantly characterized by widely dispersed middle-class populations, British population structure is more evenly distributed between middle and working classes, and the upper class, while not as significant in terms of sheer numbers, is more visible in day-to-day cultural functioning than is the case in either of the other countries (cf. Gorer, 1955: ch. 3; Johns, 1965: ch. 3). Given this situation, a single, high-circulation magazine from each of the major social classes—upper, middle and working—was sampled from Great Britain and the results combined to produce an approximation of the overarching value pattern of British society.

After consulting with several colleagues[2] and obtaining information from the National Readership Survey of Great Britain, the following publications were selected for all time periods: upper class—the *Illustrated London News* (circulation, 1972: 1,300,000); middle-class—*Reader's Di-*

gest: *British Edition* (circulation, 1972: 9,000,000);[3] working class—*Weekend* (circulation, 1972: 5,300,000).[4]

Unit of Analysis. To investigate the values expressed in these periodicals, the sentence was chosen as the unit of analysis.[5] Specific sentences were selected as follows: first, one periodical issue was selected randomly for each season of the year,[6] yielding

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[3] A comparison of *Reader's Digest* editions in the three countries revealed that, in most respects, while virtually identical in format, each edition is quite dissimilar in specific content. The *Digest*, based in Pleasantville, New York, employs a group of writers in each country in which its international editions are produced. These writers produce original material for the edition which appears in their country and reorient material from the American edition so that it will be comprehensible and relevant to the readership. Hence, little material that appears in the U.S. edition finds its way unaltered into foreign editions. (Source: Helen Sigrist, *Reader's Digest International Editions.*) My own examination of sample international edition issues showed a mean of only ten to fifteen percent of content unaltered from U.S. editions.

[4] According to the National Readership Survey, these publications were distributed along social class lines as follows: the *Illustrated London News* drew 63 percent of its audience from the upper- and upper-middle class *Reader's Digest: British Edition* had 61 percent middle-class readership, and *Weekend* had 73 percent of its readers in the lower-middle and working classes.

[5] Content analysts of value content have yet to decide the optimum unit of analysis. For example, White, (1944; 1947; 1951), the originator of the technique, developed a list of 125 "value-words" (such as "food," "new experience") which were utilized for coding key words, phrases or sentences. Ginglinger (1955) sampled sentences and paragraphs, and Johns-Heine and Gerth (1949) examined whole stories. In my own work, I have utilized the entire article (Levin and Spates, 1970), the paragraph (Spates and Levin, 1972) and, in the present case, the sentence. This indicates that, if value categories are defined carefully and exhaustively, the unit chosen for analysis makes little difference; that is, the categories will accurately discriminate value content at any unit level. However, by *decreasing* the size of the unit analyzed (e.g., from the paragraph to the sentence), the researcher gains two major advantages: increased reliability and greater speed in coding.

[6] A "season" corresponded to the three months which most closely approximated the official seasonal divisions of the calendar. As an example, "winter" was defined as the months of January, February and March.

Table 1. Summary of Value Orientation by Percentage in Dominant Culture Magazines and the Underground Press *

Value Orientation	Type of Literature				
	Dominant Culture Magazines			Underground Press	
	1957–59	1967–69	1970–72	1967–69	1970–72
Instrumental	55.7	55.3	52.6	20.0	28.5
Expressive	21.1	15.5	14.6	46.7	22.9
Political	9.0	12.8	15.2	23.2	38.5
Other	13.4	15.4	17.1	9.5	9.3
Unidentified	0.8	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.8
Total	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.8	100.0
(N = 7196)	(1178)	(1295)	(1424)	(1403)	(1896)

* $\chi^2 = 1262.70$, df = 16, p < .001: two-tail.

a sample of four issues for each periodical in each year. Second, a random sample of two articles per issue was drawn.[7] The last steps in the selection process were to select randomly six paragraphs from the article and then, again randomly, one sentence from each paragraph.[8] This procedure yielded forty-eight sentences to be analyzed for each title in each year or, in terms of the time breakdowns employed here, one hundred forty-four sentences to be analyzed for each title in each time period (three years) examined.[9]

Reliability of the Technique

Six volunteers [10] participated in a reliability check of the thirteen value sub-categories of the value analysis. Each volunteer was asked to code a random sample of forty-eight paragraphs drawn from both sets of literature and all countries under examination. Comparing the judgments of volunteers with the author's resulted in a conventionally acceptable level of reliability.

Using Cohen's (1960) k to control for chance judgments, interjudge coefficients of agreement ranged from .79 to .64, with a mean coefficient of agreement of .70. In addition, volunteers' judgments were compared against each other by calculating frequency of agreement. Using a four-out-of-six criterion—i.e., where four out six coders agreed—agreement reached 85 percent. Finally, to determine internal consistency for the categories of the analysis, intracoder agreement was computed using k with a six-week interval between Time $_1$ and Time $_2$. This coefficient of agreement was .81.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results obtained in the content analysis of value orientations in the underground press and dominant culture magazines are presented in Table 1 ($\chi^2 = 1262.70$, df=16, p<.001: two-tail).

Values in the Dominant Culture Magazines

Table 1 indicates that values manifested in the dominant culture magazines were in basic concordance with the "priority hypothesis" contained in most of the sociological literature: in all time periods, instrumental values appear more than twice as frequently as either of the two other major orientations (expressive, political), regardless of small shifts in overall percentage between time periods (1957–59—instrumental = 55.7%, expressive = 21.1%, political = 9.0%; 1967–69 — instrumental = 55.3%, expressive, 15.5%, political = 12.8%; 1970–72—instrumental = 52.6%, expressive = 14.6%, political = 15.2%). Moreover, in a title-by-title sub-analysis, this dominant pattern was repeated in every instance: in each title (ten in all), in all countries and time periods sampled, instrumental values were represented at least twice as frequently as either of the other major orientations.[11]

These sub-analysis results are particularly interesting in the British case where, it will be remembered, titles were sampled by social class. Combining all time periods for simplication, we find: upper class (*Illustrated London News*)—instrumental = 59.9%, expressive = 14.5%, political = 14.7%; middle class (*Reader's Digest: British Edition*)—instrumental = 58.6%, expressive = 23.0%, political = 4.0%; working class *(Weekend)*—instrumental = 59.8%, expressive = 11.2%, political = 8.7%. Although only three titles were sampled, these results provide support for the hypothesis, long extant in functionalist circles (cf. Merton, 1957; Parsons, 1971), that overarching instrumental Western value pattern is well-diffused *throughout* Western societies. It is the basic agreement on crucial value themes which helps make these societies relatively impervious to sudden and/or major changes over time (Parsons 1971).

Further support for this interpretation appears when the dominant culture magazine data is examined for changes between time periods. In comparison to the fluctuat-

ing underground press values where the mean change for any value orientation between time periods is 9.6 percent, the dominant culture magazine values appear relatively stable with a mean change of 1.9 percent. More specifically, focusing on the major value orientations, the predominant instrumental orientation decreased only slightly, 3.1 percent—1957–59, 55.7%; 1967–69, 55.3%; 1970–72, 52.6%—while expressive values decreased by 6.5 percent —1957–59, 21.1%; 1967–69, 15.5%; 1970–72, 14.6%—and the political themes increased by 6.2 percent—1957–59, 9.0%; 1967–70, 12.8%; 1970–72, 15.2%.

Examining this data *vis-à-vis* the claims of counterculture observers that Western society was rapidly undergoing a major change in the direction of the counterculture's ideological bias, it seems that no overwhelming shift in the predicted direction is underway. While there is a very small drift in the direction of lesser instrumentalism over time, it is more than offset by a larger drift away from expressivism during the same time periods. In addition, a sub-analysis by country indicates that the overall increase in political values of 6.2 percent is skewed somewhat by the American data, which showed a mean increase of 8.3 percent in political concerns between time periods, as opposed to that of Canada with a mean decrease of 1.7 percent and Great Britain with a mean increase of 3.2 percent [12]—results which reflect, overall, no pronounced shift toward increasing politicalization. In other words, data collected here indicate that, however the counterculture has impinged on the dominant culture of Western society, there apparently has been no significant influence of the former system on the latter regarding values —at least as manifested in dominant culture magazines.[13]

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[11] The data from this sub-analysis and those mentioned below are available from the author.

[12] The upsurge in the American case may be due to the sample being drawn in two time periods (1967–69, 1970–72) during which American Presidential elections were being held.

[13] For those interested in other arguments concerning the stability of Western orientations, see Blau and Meyer (1971:107–8), Berger and Berger (1971), Carter (1970) and Hacker (1973).

Values in the Underground Press

Turning now to a discussion of the underground press data reported in Table 1, two relationships attract attention. First, during 1967–69, the major value orientations of the underground press appear to be aligned essentially as counterculture observers suggested: instrumental themes are least important at 20 percent representation, political concerns are next in importance at 23.2 percent incidence and expressivity has predominance, appearing 46.7 percent of the time—over twice as frequently as either of the other major orientations. A sub-analysis of the titles sampled for this period indicates that this general pattern was repeated identically in eight out of ten cases.[14]

However, when we turn to an examination of this data over time, a very different picture emerges: from 1967–69 to 1970–72 all major value orientations show important shifts in the amount of attention accorded them and both the expressive and instrumental orientations have altered in the *opposite* direction which a reading of counterculture observers would have led one to expect. To be more specific: whereas, in 1967–69, expressivism was the focal point of almost half (46.7%) of the sentences coded, by 1970-72 it had declined to less than a quarter (22.9%) of overall representation. This decrease of almost 24 percent is the largest shift of any value theme in either set of literature and becomes all the more noteworthy when three additional facts are noted. First, by 1970–72, expressivism had been "overtaken" in incidence by increasing instrumental concerns (28.5%); second, it had completely reversed in overall priority, slipping to least important of the major orientations; and third, its total occurrence (22.9%) was only 8.3 percent more than the attention given to the *same* orientation in the dominant culture literature of the same time period.

Significantly, these results are the product

[14] The exceptions are *Great Speckled Bird* (Atlanta) which reversed the order of political (37.1%) and expressive (28.7%) values and *Georgia Straight* (Vancouver) which had a completely reversed pattern: instrumental = 32.4%; political = 29.6%; expressive = 26.8%.

of a *general* trend throughout the underground press between 1967–69 and 1970–72. Taking the eight underground papers sampled in both time periods—five in the United States, one in Canada, two in Great Britain [15]—a sub-analysis by title revealed an identical pattern in every case: a marked decrease in expressivism and an increase in instrumentalism.

Political values, on the other hand, increased from 23.2 percent in 1967–69 to 38.5 percent in 1970–72. This trend was supported as well by a title-by-title sub-analysis of the eight papers common to both time periods, with one exception.[16]

Taken as a whole, these shifts in value orientation suggest that there was a major change in the underground press between 1967–69 and 1970–72. Table 2 examines the sub-categories of each value orientation and allows a more detailed analysis of the data collected.

[15] USA: *Los Angeles Free Press, Fifth Estate, Distant Drummer, East Village Other, Great Speckled Bird;* Canada: *Georgia Straight;* Great Britain, *Oz, IT.*

[16] Atlanta's *Great Speckled Bird* declined in political orientation from 37.1 percent in 1967–69 to 27.3 percent in 1970–72.

Table 2. Summary of Value Orientation Sub-Categories by Percentage in the Underground Press

Value-Orientation	Time Period	
	1967–69	1970–72
Instrumental		
Achievement	2.0	3.3
Cognitive-Rational	14.7	19.4
Economic/Occupational	3.3	5.8
Expressive		
Self-Expressive	27.8	14.8
Concern for Others	3.5	2.3
Affiliation	6.3	4.3
Religious/Philosophical	9.1	1.5
Political		
Political Ideals	7.1	7.9
Political Process	16.1	30.6
Other		
Individualism	2.7	1.5
Physiological	3.1	6.5
Miscellaneous	3.7	1.3
Unidentified		
Unidentified	0.4	0.8
Total	99.8	100.0
(N = 3299)	(1403)	(1896)

The Expressive Values

A striking relationship in this data is the predominance of self-expressive themes in both time periods: in 1967–69 self-expression's 27.8 percent is over three times greater than religious-philosophical's 9.1 percent and in 1970–72 its 14.8 percent is nearly three and one-half times more frequent than affiliation's 4.3 percent. Moreover, this pattern is consistent: in the sub-analysis by title of the eight papers sampled in both time periods, a ratio of at least 3:1 favoring self-expression over any other expressive value was found.

A more general reading of the press indicated that articles in which self-expressive sentences appeared often were couched in the framework of the "do-your-own-thing" ethic.[17] This emphasis stressed the complete preeminence of the individual in social encounter. Groups—of any kind—had to be watched carefully lest they "lay trips" on people that took them away from their "true" selves. If association could not be on a completely voluntary level, with task completion left to personal desire, it was better not to associate at all.

If the predominance of self-expression in the press is indicative of the attention accorded this value in the counterculture generally, then it may help explain why many counterculture groups ran into severe problems of structural maintenance. Thus, in the press itself, beginning as early as 1967 and continuing throughout the time periods sampled, there appear numerous reports of apartments being abandoned because no one bought food, took out the garbage or paid the rent; of important community organizations, such as the Diggers (a group which provided free food and clothes to counterculture people), free medical clinics and the underground papers themselves (e.g., the *San Francisco Oracle, The Seed, Logos, Oz*) failing because people no longer wanted to work for them;

and perhaps most significantly, of whole counterculture communities (e.g., the Haight-Ashbury, the East Village and numerous communes) atrophying because even the minimal amount of attention required for survival could not be mobilized. Such reports in the press were supported by other accounts of "sudden dissolution" of counterculture groups (cf. Luce, 1969; MacNeil, 1970; Katz, 1971) and, taken together, may suggest why so few large-scale counterculture groups and communities continue in existence.

A second relationship of note in the expressive data is the following: while all expressive concerns show a decrease in emphasis between 1967–69 and 1970–72, religious-philosophical themes, which dropped from 9.1 percent incidence in the former period to 1.5 percent in the latter, show the largest proportional diminution—receiving less than six times the attention previously accorded them. Again, the sub-analysis by titles provides evidence of a general pattern: in seven of the eight papers sampled in both time periods, religious-philosophical concerns show the greatest decline among expressive sub-categories,[18] and in four of the papers they ceased to appear at all.

A general reading of the press from 1969–72 suggests that this decline was related to a distinct repudiation of these values on the part of many writers. Beginning in 1969. after Beatles John Lennon and Paul McCartney announced they were giving up Transcendental Meditation, numerous articles appeared throughout the press which criticized such religious-philosophical allegiances as "naive," "unrealistic" or "exploitive." As the 1970s progressed, those few who continued to advocate such commitments publicly— such as ex-Beatle George Harrison and ex-radical Rennie Davis—were continually denounced.[19]

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[17] These observations and those which follow in succeeding pages are based on my own extensive reading of the underground press during 1967–72. During this period, over 1500 articles were read in the papers sampled here and nearly 300 were read in comparative papers not formally sampled.

[18] *IT* (London) indicated an increase in this sub-emphasis from 1967–69 to 1970–72—from 2.7 percent to 3.4 percent.

[19] For example, in the Davis case, a massive discreditation campaign was launched when Davis returned from India in 1972 proclaiming that he had "seen the light" and that the "Perfect Master"—Guru Maharaji—was alive on this earth. For such opinions, Davis was vilified as a "sell

Such continual criticism may have helped drive those still believing in such alternatives to the peripheries of the counterculture or out of it altogether. In this respect, recent studies have indicated that those associated with the Jesus (Adams and Fox, 1972), Meher Baba (Robbins and Anthony, 1972), and Hare Krishna (Judah, 1974) movements have all distanced themselves ideologically, in one way or another, from their earlier countercultural roots. In addition, these groups, as well as numerous others originally associated with the counterculture, have developed their own specialized media (magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, mailing circulars, etc.) in recent years, suggesting a possible decline in their reliance on the underground press as a source of religious-philosophical directive.

The drop in religious-philosophical concerns also may have had important consequences for those who remained in the countercultural mainstream. Hence, there is little doubt that many original counterculture members identified with various Eastern or American Indian religious-philosophical traditions because they saw them not only as supportive of other aspects of an expressive orientation, but also as a means of providing an "ultimate" explanation for action which was grounded outside of Western tradition (cf. Leary, 1968; Yablonsky, 1968; Ram Dass, 1971). With such an "underpinning" decreasing in frequency and sympathetic presentation, counterculture members in general may have been much more prone to "back-slide" into their own previous patterns of instrumental socialization. One indication of this may be contained in the overall 8.5 percent increase in instrumental themes which occurred in the press during 1970–72 (Table 1).

The Political Values

Examining Table 2 once more, it can be seen that in both time periods political process values were noticeably more frequent than political ideals: in 1967–69 they were over twice as numerous at 16.1 percent as

compared to 7.1 percent; and in 1970–72 they were nearly four times more prevalent, 30.6 percent as opposed to 7.9 percent. This also was observed in seven of eight papers sampled in both time periods during 1967–69 [20] and in all eight papers during 1970–72. Since a sub-analysis by country of dominant culture magazines revealed an identical priority on the processual as opposed to the ideal elements of politics—in the United States the ratio was over 5:1 (process = 13.6%, ideals = 2.5%), in Canada almost 8:1 (process = 10.6%, ideals = 1.3%) and in Great Britain slightly over 8:1 (process = 8.4%, ideals = 1.0%)—it suggests that the "nuts-and-bolts" type of concern may have a tendency to dominate political writing regardless of the type of literature.

One reason why the counterculture ratio favoring process might be lower than the dominant culture ratio may be related to the "newness" of the movement. Perhaps newly formed cultural groups feel a need to reiterate their political ideals frequently in order to reinforce their ideological positions, while "established" groups, with such commitment to ideals worked out, can spend more time concentrating on processual elements. The increase of dominance of political process values over political ideals to almost 4:1 in 1970–72 may support this interpretation. [21]

However, an alternative interpretation for this increase can be suggested: namely, the exodus of many hippies from the press during 1970–72. A general reading indicates that sometimes this exodus was caused by the "do-your-own-thing" ideology coming to the fore as already mentioned, sometimes it was linked to disillusionment with the movement (cf. Neville, 1970) and sometimes it was forced by *coups* where radicals took over the papers by force. [22]

[20] *Los Angeles Free Press* is the exception, giving 11.7 percent of its space to political process and 13.1 percent to political ideals.

[21] The sub-analysis revealed that a similar ratio increase was not observed in dominant culture magazines between the time periods.

[22] Among papers sampled here, such *coups* occurred in at least four cases: *Avatar, East Village Other, Los Angeles Free Press* and *Berkeley Barb.*

out," a "fraud," a "servant of the Devil" and, most ironically, in light of his particular background, as "an agent of the CIA."

Needless to say, the latter process led to considerable antipathy between the two countercultural groups (cf. Thompson, 1969; French, 1971; Stern, 1975) and may have increased fragmentation in the movement generally.

The net effect of the hippie exodus was to leave the editorial policy of the papers in the hands of more radical personnel. In some cases, this shift led to a direct focus on the processual elements of politics. For example, beginning in 1970, Detroit's *Fifth Estate* purposefully reoriented its whole editorial policy from a focus on a unified world-wide counterculture to one stressing the progressive radicalization of the local community. After this shift, numerous articles appeared analyzing how the paper's constituency could gain the support of local labor, blacks and women. Such a reorientation increased the amount of attention given political process as opposed to political ideals in the *Fifth Estate* from a near 1:1 ratio in 1967–69 to a greater than 6.5:1 ratio in 1970–72 (1967–69: political process = 18.2%, political ideals = 15.4%; 1970–72: political process = 51%, political ideals = 7.6%).

The Instrumental Values

Last, considering the instrumental values reported in Table 2, we find once again that a single sub-category—cognitive-rational—predominates the others: at 14.7 percent in 1967–69, these interests appear slightly more than four times as frequently as economic/occupational concerns at 3.3 percent, and at 19.4 percent in 1970–72 cognitive-rational themes are somewhat less than four times as great as economic/occupational at 5.8 percent. In all cases, the sub-analysis by title of the eight papers common to both time periods substantiated this priority.

The reason for this preeminence may be linked to underground press writers' status as offspring of a cultural milieu where cognitive-rational themes are highly stressed. Thus, in a sub-analysis of the dominant culture magazines a similar pattern was observed—in 1957–59 cognitive-rational themes were over two and one-half times more frequent than achievement

values which had the next highest incidence (cognitive-rational = 32.7%, achievement = 12.7%), in 1967–69 they were slightly under two and one-half times more frequent than achievement (cognitive-rational = 32.9%, achievement = 13.5%), and in 1970–72 they had slightly more than two times higher frequency than achievement interests (cognitive-rational = 27.1%, achievement = 12.8%).

Examining the instrumental data over time, we find that all sub-categories have increased between time periods—cognitive-rational has increased from 14.7 percent to 19.4 percent, achievement from 2 percent to 3.3 percent, and economic/occupational from 3.3 percent to 5.8 percent. The sub-analysis of the eight in-common titles revealed that this pattern was repeated exactly in six papers, with two papers showing minor decreases in one sub-category only.[23]

This overall increase may be partially due to "back-sliding" into an instrumental orientation as already suggested, or it may be due to an increasing emphasis on pragmatic activity that began to surface in the press as the seventies progressed. In this respect, two types of article stressing instrumental concerns frequently appeared in 1970–72: first, there were the "shore-up-the-faltering-movement" pieces, usually written in response to the break-up of counterculture groups or in exhortation to political activism and second, there were the "how to" articles, which attempted to provide basic survival information for alternative life-styles (e.g., how to build your own geodesic dome; how to grow your own organic food; how to make a living by panhandling).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The content analytic data reported here primarily indicate two things: first, that the values of dominant culture magazines have not changed appreciably in recent years and second, that the values of the underground

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[23] *Great Speckled Bird* decreased the attention it gave to cognitive-rational concerns from 21 percent in 1967–69 to 17.8 percent in 1970–72 and *Georgia Straight* decreased its incidence of economic/occupational sentences from 9.8 percent in 1967–69 to 8.9 percent in 1970–72.

press have. The first finding casts doubt on the hypothesized rapid alteration of Western society toward a countercultural ideology, the second casts doubt on the ideological stability of the counterculture itself. Indeed, given the value configuration of the underground press in 1970–72 (Table 1), it may be questionable whether priorities such as these are truly indicative of a counterculture at all—the expressive values, theoretically the ideological "counter" to instrumentalism and those most emphasized by counterculture observers, have declined to least important of the major orientations; instrumental values themselves have increased noticeably; and the now-dominant political values are not as strongly preeminent as the expressive values were in 1967–69. Futhermore, regarding political orientations, Parsons' analysis (1971:118–9) suggests that political groups, at least in the modern West, are hardly ever *counter*cultural; rather, they are usually committed, however radical their critique to a *reorganization* of an already existing value system (as opposed to a *de novo* alternative). Given such considerations, it might be more appropriate to speak of the underground press as representing a politically radical *sub*culture in 1970–72 (cf. Yinger, 1960: 627–9).

While this study cannot claim to be representative of the full spectrum of countercultural forces that may have been operating between 1967–72, it does suggest that this movement may have reshaped itself significantly in recent years along lines that appear not to have been fully expected by most counterculture observers.

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ERRATA

In the article "The Occupational Status Attainment Processes of Males and Females" by McKee J. McClendon (February, 1976) Table 2, page 57, the title should read "(Males above Diagonal and Females below)" and the first correlation under the SEI column should read ".05."